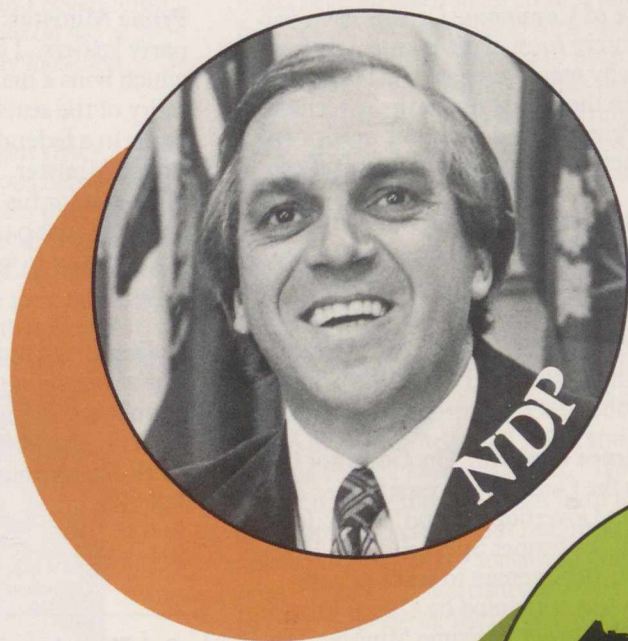
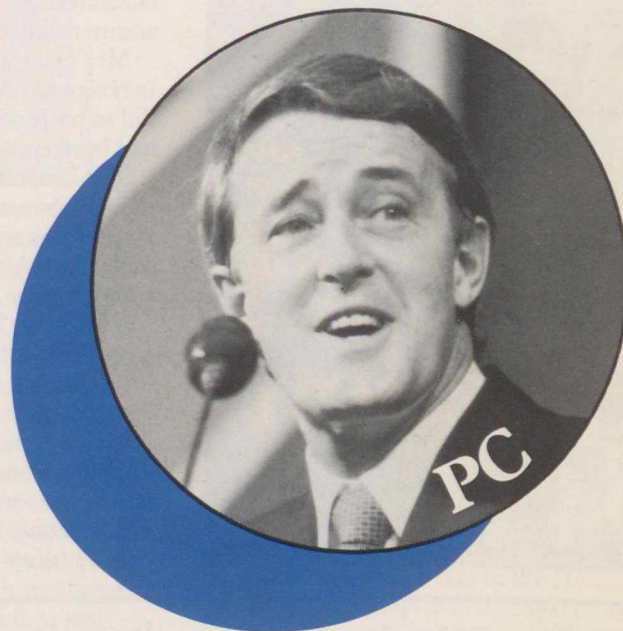
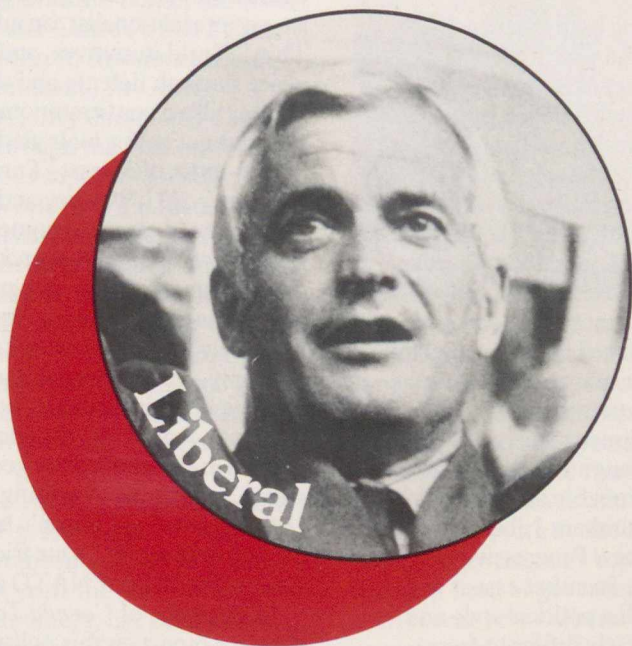


Canada Today/d'aujourd'hui



**Election
84**





Election 84

A Page of Explanations

A Prime Minister is not a President (he is the Head of Government, not the Head of State), Liberals (with a capital L) are not Democrats (with a capital D), Progressive Conservatives are neither Republicans nor republicans, and the New Democratic Party is like no other party in North America.

Here are a few Canadian definitions:

Member of Parliament (MP): A member of the Commons. House members are expected to vote with their party except on rare occasions (as in bills on abortion) when they may vote their conscience.

No Poll Vaults

In Canada, like the U.S. a wide country, West Coast polls are still open after those in the East have closed. Under a 1938 law TV and radio cannot report results in any time zone where the polls are still open.

An inattentive Canadian teen-ager might have assumed that Pierre Trudeau was part of the Canadian Constitution.

He became Prime Minister in 1968 and remained in the office – with one nine-month interruption – until early this summer.

In the words of John Turner, who succeeded him, he was “the most extraordinary Canadian of his generation,” a characterization with which both his admirers and critics could agree.

Mr. Trudeau announced his intention to resign as PM on February 29th and he did so on June 30th, after Mr. Turner had been elected Liberal Party leader.

The Liberals have been in control of the government since 1980, and Mr. Turner was required to call an election by early 1985. After due consideration he called one for September 4th.

The Prime Minister likely to head the government through the second half of the 1980s will probably be either Mr. Turner, the incumbent Liberal, or Brian Mulroney, the new Progressive Conservative leader. In either case it will be someone with a political style and a philosophy clearly different from Mr. Trudeau's.

House of Commons: Canada has a parliamentary form of government which normally means the party with the most seats in the House forms the government. The Prime Minister and the majority of Cabinet members are House members.

Senate: Senators are appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister, usually in recognition of long and loyal service. The powers of the Senate are severely limited. Senators now serve until death or age 75, whichever comes first.

Governor General: The Governor General is the Queen's representative. The present Governor General, Mme. Jeanne Sauv , the former Speaker of the House and the first woman to serve in both posts, was appointed by Queen Elizabeth II on the advice of Prime Minister Trudeau this spring. Governors General sign legislation into law and could constitutionally veto it, but the post has been largely ceremonial and advisory for most of this century.

Mr. Trudeau's interests were often historical in perspective – he brought Quebecers and the French language into the mainstream of Canadian life and gave Canada its own Constitution – and his economic and political interests ranged worldwide. He was a government activist, an internationalist, an advocate of Third World initiatives, and a disciple of peace through d tente and disarmament. He was also a confrontational debater who did not suffer fools gladly.

The styles of Messrs. Turner and Mulroney are lower-key and their attention focussed closer to home. Both have been practicing lawyers and, by their own pronouncements, are practical, pragmatic businessmen. Both are immediately concerned with Canada's economy – unemployment and the budget deficit are inarguably too high, and both men would like to reduce them.

Both are committed to good relations with Canada's No. 1 trading partner, the U.S. They value Canada's friends and, as Mr. Turner put it, “Our friends are the Americans and our NATO allies.”

In this issue of *Canada Today/d'aujourd'hui* we report on this political season above the border.

Prime Minister: Prime Ministers are party leaders. The leader of the party which wins a majority or a working plurality of the seats in the House of Commons in a federal election becomes the Prime Minister. Even a Prime Minister must run for his own seat, and only the voters in that particular riding have the opportunity to vote directly for or against him.

Riding: Each member of the House of Commons represents a riding. The least populated riding, Nunatsiag in the N.W.T., had 14,913 in 1980; the most, York-Scarborough in Toronto, had 148,286.

Ad Blackout

No political advertising was allowed during the first four weeks of the campaign period this year, and none will be allowed on the day before the election nor on polling day itself.

The duration of the first ban varies slightly depending on the length of the campaign interval. The final two-day blackout is most noticeable on TV – there can be no last-minute ‘ad blitz’.

Parties, Big and Small

Progressive Conservatives

To American ears Progressive Conservative may seem a contradiction in terms. To many, 'progressive' means left, 'conservative' right. In Canada (and in Webster's dictionary) they are not mutually exclusive.

The PCs began as the Conservatives or Tories, and under Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, and his Quebec lieutenant, Sir George-Etienne Cartier, they dominated Canadian politics through the 19th century.

Their vigorous support of a military draft during World War I initiated a long-lasting alienation of Quebec, and they became the second party after Prime Minister Richard Bennett, who had the misfortune to be in office during the Great Depression, lost to William Lyon Mackenzie King in 1935. King and his Liberal successors would control the government for forty-two of the next forty-nine years.

PC John Diefenbaker was Prime Minister from 1957 to 1963, and PC Joe Clark held office for nine months in 1979 and 1980. In recent years the party, strong in the Western provinces, has been almost powerless in Quebec. This year, with the election of Brian Mulroney, a native, as party leader, membership has increased impressively in Quebec and engendered hopes that the Liberal hold on the province might be significantly loosened.

Liberals

The Liberals or Grits began slowly, gaining control of the Commons between 1873 and 1878 and not again until 1896.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the party's first great leader, and by standing firm against the World War I draft he gave the Liberals a Quebec foundation that would serve them well. Since 1935 they have placed



four Prime Ministers in power: Mackenzie King, who became almost the personification of Canada during World War II; Louis St. Laurent, who succeeded him in 1948 for nine years; Lester B. Pearson, who served from 1963 to 1968; and Pierre Trudeau, who served from 1968 to 1984 (with a nine-month interruption), longer than any contemporary Western head of government.

In recent years Liberal power has been concentrated in the East, in Quebec where it has had almost unrivaled sway, and in Ontario and the Maritimes where it has been engaged in an endless and fairly evenhanded struggle with the PCs.

The western provinces have been resolutely non-Liberal since the mid-1970s, and there are now no Liberal members of the House of Commons from British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan and only two from Manitoba.

The New Democratic Party

The NDPs are social democrats, strongly allied with the Canadian Labour Congress and loosely with the interests of farmers. The party's predecessor, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, began in Saskatchewan in 1933, and its famous Regina Manifesto said, "No CCF government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation a full program of socialized planning." The CCF flourished for over twenty years in the West, but by 1958 its Ottawa representation was down to eight seats. Three years later the NDP emerged as an intended alliance of labour and farmers. Instead, the national NDP has become primarily a stronghold of labour and urban leftists. It held the balance of power during Joe Clark's brief time as Prime Minister and had the support of 26 per cent of the voters in 1982. It has since faded nationally (though it still controls the government of Manitoba). Polls this March and July showed

the party with the support of only 11 per cent of the decided voters nationally and evoked some gallows humour.

Pauline Jewett, the NDP's external affairs critic, said, "Maybe they got the digits reversed," and Ed Broadbent, the party leader, said, "We don't want to peak too early!"

The party must hold at least twelve of its present thirty-one seats if it is to keep its status as a major party, and some party strategists say it will be fortunate if it can hold twenty.

Smaller Parties

The Parti Nationaliste, a new party which, like Quebec's ruling provincial Parti Québécois, calls for the peaceful separation of the province, will field candidates in most Quebec ridings.

The Social Credit Party (Ralliement Créditiste in Quebec), a neo-conservative party with unique fiscal theories, was founded during the Depression and has had many an up and down. It controlled Alberta for thirty-six years, before losing to Progressive Conservatives in 1971, and it has been strong in British Columbia since the fifties and is currently in power there. Its Quebec branch was a force in the sixties and seventies. It now holds no seats in the federal House of Commons.

Canada has a dozen other small parties, none of which hold a seat in the House, but all of which aspire to national power. One is the Green, founded in 1983, which, in the words of a spokesman, sees "economic growth as a problem, not as a solution." It had an estimated 4,000 members last fall but has since dwindled to a hard core of 1,500, half in British Columbia.

Other hopeful contenders are the Marxist-Leninists, the Communist Party of Canada, le Parti Rhinocéros, Union Nationale (once a power in Quebec) and the Libertarians.

VOTE LIBERAL

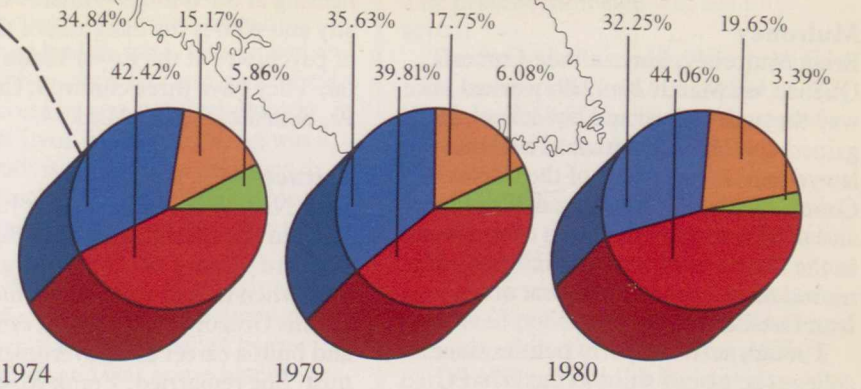


"THE GATES ARE MINE TO OPEN"

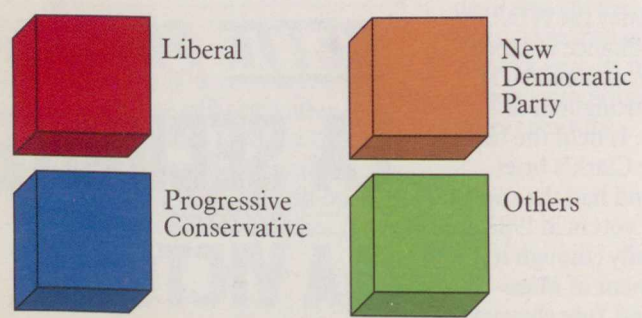
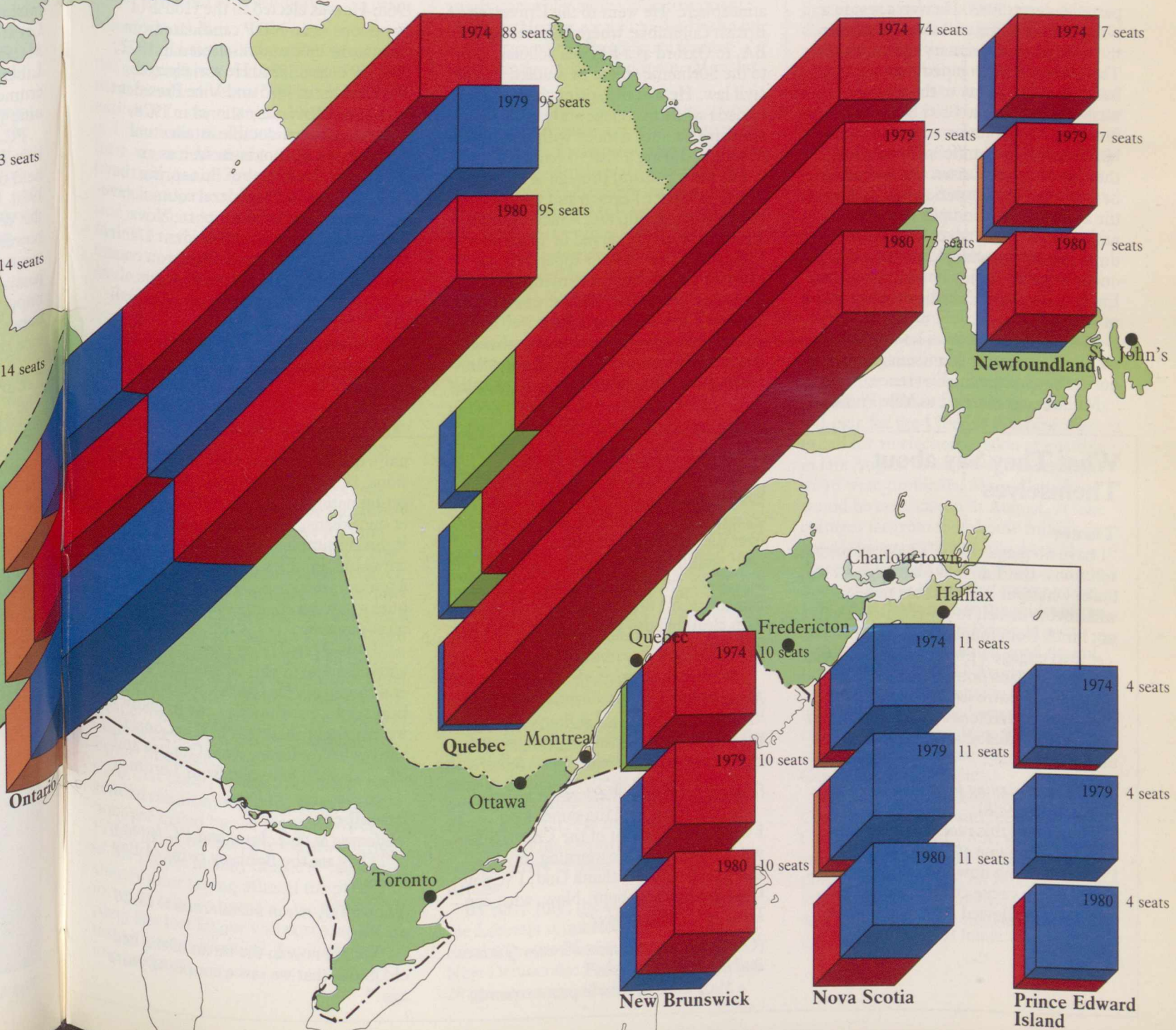
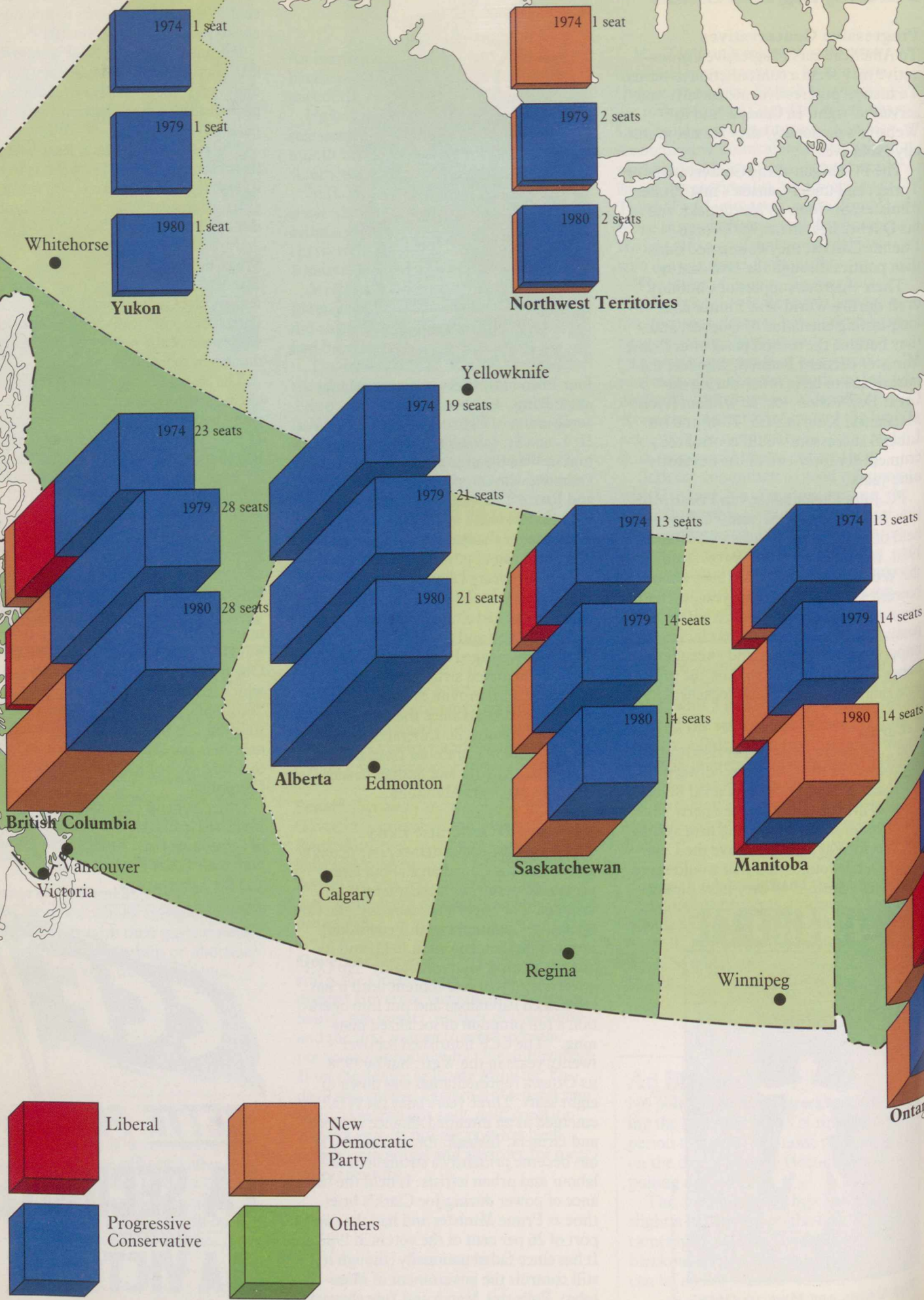


Balances of Power

The Last Three Elections



Popular vote by percentage



The Candidates

Mulroney

Brian Mulroney, born in Baie-Comeau, Quebec, on March 20, 1939, worked his way through college and law school. He gained a public reputation as a labour lawyer and as a member of the Cliche Commission, which made a determined and productive investigation of violence in the Quebec construction industry. He moved on to become president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada.

Though active in party politics since college (he placed third in the 1976 PC leadership race which Joe Clark won), he had never held elective office and was not a member of Parliament when elected party leader in 1983. He won a seat in a Nova Scotia riding and seemed to grasp the needed parliamentary skills quickly. The *Ottawa Citizen* noted that "he had barely found his way to the executive washroom when the Grits baited their first trap – a resolution supporting official bilingualism in Manitoba," and added that Mulroney had risen to the occasion: he endorsed the resolution and told a hostile audience in Winnipeg that "real national unity will never be achieved until French-speaking Canadians living outside Quebec enjoy no less rights than English-speaking Canadians in my native province."

In the coming election he will run for a seat in the riding of Manicouagan, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence.

Mulroney is married to Mila Pivnicki,

born in Yugoslavia, who studied engineering at Sir George Williams University and who is the daughter of the head of psychiatry at the Royal Victoria Hospital. They have three children, Caroline, 10, Benedict, 6, and Mark, 4.

Turner

John Napier Turner was born June 7, 1929, in Richmond, England. His father, Leonard Turner, an English journalist, died when he was two and his mother, Phyllis Gregory, a Canadian, came home and built a career as a government economist. She remarried, Frank Ross, a wealthy industrialist active in Liberal Party politics and one-time Lt.-Governor of B.C., and John grew up in a political atmosphere. He went to the University of British Columbia, where he received a BA, to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, and to the Sorbonne where he studied French civil law. He was the sprint champion of Canada while in college and before his marriage he once danced with Princess Margaret during a visit to Canada.

He was a political protégé of Prime Minister Lester Pearson and ran third in the 1968 leadership race which Pierre Trudeau won. He served in Trudeau's Cabinet but left in 1975 apparently because of his opposition to mandatory wage and price controls. He was elected Liberal Party leader last June 16th on the second ballot, winning over six other candidates. He was sworn in as Prime Minister on June 30th, after Trudeau formally

resigned. He will seek election in the Vancouver Quadra riding.

He is married to Geills (pronounced Jill) McCrae Kilgour, once of Winnipeg, and they have four children, Elizabeth, 20, Michael, 18, David, 16, and James Andrew, 12.

Broadbent

James Edward Broadbent was born March 21, 1936, in Oshawa, Ontario, into a solid middle-class family. He went to the Oshawa public schools, the University of Toronto and the London School of Economics and Political Science, collecting a BA, an MA, and a Ph.D. along the way. He was Professor of Political Science at York University from 1965 to 1968. He was elected to the House of Commons as an NDP candidate from Oshawa in 1968 and re-elected in 1972, 1974, 1979 and 1980. He was elected NDP leader in 1975 and Vice President of the Socialist International in 1978.

A man of considerable intellectual strength, he has not been seen as an inspirational leader, but this spring the NDP's 120-member federal council gave him across-the-board support. Nova Scotia NDP provincial president Daniel MacInnes told *Macleans* that "you concentrate on electing people in terms of what they do, not to cultivate personalities."

He is married to Lucille Monroe and they have two children, Paul, 25, and Christine, 11.

What They Say about Themselves

Turner

"I have no magic wand. I have no instant solutions. But I do make a pledge – I will make whatever sacrifices are necessary. I will devote myself to my country, I will not flinch from tough decisions."

« Je m'engage à promouvoir à nouveau l'harmonie dans notre pays : entre les provinces et entre les travailleurs et l'entreprise ; arrêtons la confrontation et engageons le dialogue afin de parvenir à un consensus. »

(While campaigning for the Liberal Party leadership in 1968):

"I'm not in this race so you will remember my name at some future date. I'm not bidding now for your consideration at some vague convention in 1984 when I've mellowed a bit. My time is now, and now is not time for mellow men."

(While discussing the environment):

"My wife and I and our four children have canoed more of the rivers of this country than any other Canadian family over the last couple of years."

"I would move to see the President and say, 'look, how about a clean air treaty.' But we've got to go to the United States with clean hands. We've got to clean up our own act too."

Mulroney

"If I had to choose neighbours among all the potential powerful neighbours, I'd choose the United States."

(During his visit to Washington in June):

"I told them (all) the same thing If I were the President of the United States, when I got up in the morning, my first thought would be, thank God, I've got Canada as a neighbour. Now, what can I do for Canada today?"

(On the ancient divisions between Quebec and the rest of Canada):

« Mais nous savons le prix extraordi-

naire que nous avons payé pour ces divisions, la dimension pénible de cette action nationale de ces conflits stériles et quotidiens, jamais solutionnés sauf sur le dos du simple citoyen, du petit contribuable. Pour les grands penseurs il y a toujours des choses à faire mais pour quelqu'un qui cherche un emploi l'avenir n'est pas rose. ».

"I was elected (Progressive Conservative leader) in part to break that Liberal monopoly (in Quebec). I'm going to beat them. For the first time in history, we've caught these guys. The Conservatives have a leader from Quebec and (the Liberals) have one from Toronto."

Broadbent

(Referring to the Liberal and PC leaders):
"They are the Bobbsey twins of Bay Street."

(On the July rise in interest rates to 13.26 per cent):

"We are now in the rerun of the bad old movie that we saw a couple of years ago."

What the Media Say

Allan Fotheringham, syndicated columnist:

"The two of them, good Catholics both, have one belief in common: God in his wisdom helps only those who help themselves and both are firm believers in their own destiny."

Newsweek:

"He (Turner) and Mulroney have few substantive differences on economics and they are almost indistinguishable on the subject of foreign policy. Each man argues that he can effectively lobby the United States on the touchy issues of acid rain, and trade and maritime disputes. Each says he plans to continue Trudeau's attempt to make Canada an intermediary between the United States and the Soviet Union, but neither is likely to cause as much irritation in Washington."

New York Times:

"Both parties will try to break out of the geographical confines that have kept them in recent years from being truly national. In the just-dissolved House of Commons, the Liberals had no seats from west of Manitoba, the Conservatives only one of 75 seats from French-speaking Quebec. As an earnest (expression) of their desire for a breakthrough, Mr. Turner will run in the extreme western province of British Columbia, Mr. Mulroney in his native Quebec."

The Byroad to Sussex Drive

The way to high office in Canada does not usually run in a straight line.

For fifty years the parties have most often picked leaders who, though active party members, had also attained considerable success in non-political careers.

William Lyon Mackenzie King was a principal advisor on labour relations to John D. Rockefeller when Prime Minister Laurier picked him as his intended heir.

Lester Pearson was a dazzlingly successful career diplomat, by definition without party affiliation, when he resigned in 1948 and was immediately named Secretary of State for External Affairs by Prime Minister St. Laurent.

John Diefenbaker was a most persuasive attorney with a lucrative private practice. He was elected to the House in 1940, became the Progressive Conservative leader in 1956 and Prime Minister in 1957.

Pierre Trudeau had been a law school professor and journalist when Pearson made him his Parliamentary secretary in 1966 and his Minister of Justice in 1967.

Both the current party leaders, John Turner and Brian Mulroney, have been politically active since youth and Turner served in Trudeau's early Cabinets. In recent years both have been very successful lawyers and business executives.

The Enumerator Calls

Canadian general election campaigns are limited by law to no less than fifty days. The present campaign will last fifty-seven.

The federal office called Elections Canada has shipped tons of material to 282 ridings and 68,000 polling stations and selected and trained 282 returning officers.

When Prime Minister Turner called the election, the Chief Electoral Officer, Jean-Marc Hamel, and his aides set about seeing how many of Canada's eighteen registered political parties would have their names on the ballot. To qualify, a party must run candidates in at least fifty ridings. If it has fewer, the candidate's name is listed but not the party.

Candidates from the parties that placed first and second in each riding in 1980 then picked some 110,000 enumerators, persons who go from house to house compiling voters lists. Every elector on the list is then sent a card confirming that he is on the list and giving information on where and when to vote.

Advance polls – for voters who will be elsewhere on election day – are open for three days in late August and provisions are made so members of the Canadian Forces and other federal government employees stationed abroad can vote. The system seems to work. Over 11 million Canadians, 69.3 per cent of those eligible, voted in 1980.

The Conventions that Prevail

This summer's political campaigns began not with primaries but with leadership conventions.

The Progressive Conservatives' was convened when Joe Clark, the incumbent who had been Prime Minister for nine months in 1979 and '80, asked for a vote of confidence at the regular party convention in Winnipeg in January 1983 and got only 66 per cent approval. He called for a party election and then ran against a field of seven the following June. The rough race wound up with Brian Mulroney first and Clark second. Mulroney became the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons and the man who may be Prime Minister.

At that point, no one knew when the general election would be. General elections are called by the party in power. If a Prime Minister has only narrow control of the House he may decide to call one shortly after taking office if the party's fortunes take an upturn. One whose party has lost favour will postpone the test as long as practical, hoping for improvement.

The Liberals have been in power since 1980 and they had to call an election by 1985. They were low in the polls last winter, but their ratings improved when Prime Minister Trudeau announced his intention to resign and a leadership convention was called for June. They continued to climb when John Turner re-emerged from private life and announced his candidacy. Turner's principal rival was Jean Chrétien, a popular man who had a long and intimate association with the Trudeau government – he had served as Minister of National Revenue; Industry, Trade and Commerce; Finance; Energy; Justice; Indian and Northern Affairs; and Consumer and Corporate Relations.

Turner took a commanding lead on the first ballot and won as expected on the second. When Trudeau stepped down officially on June 30th, Turner became Prime Minister. He immediately named Chrétien as his Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs.

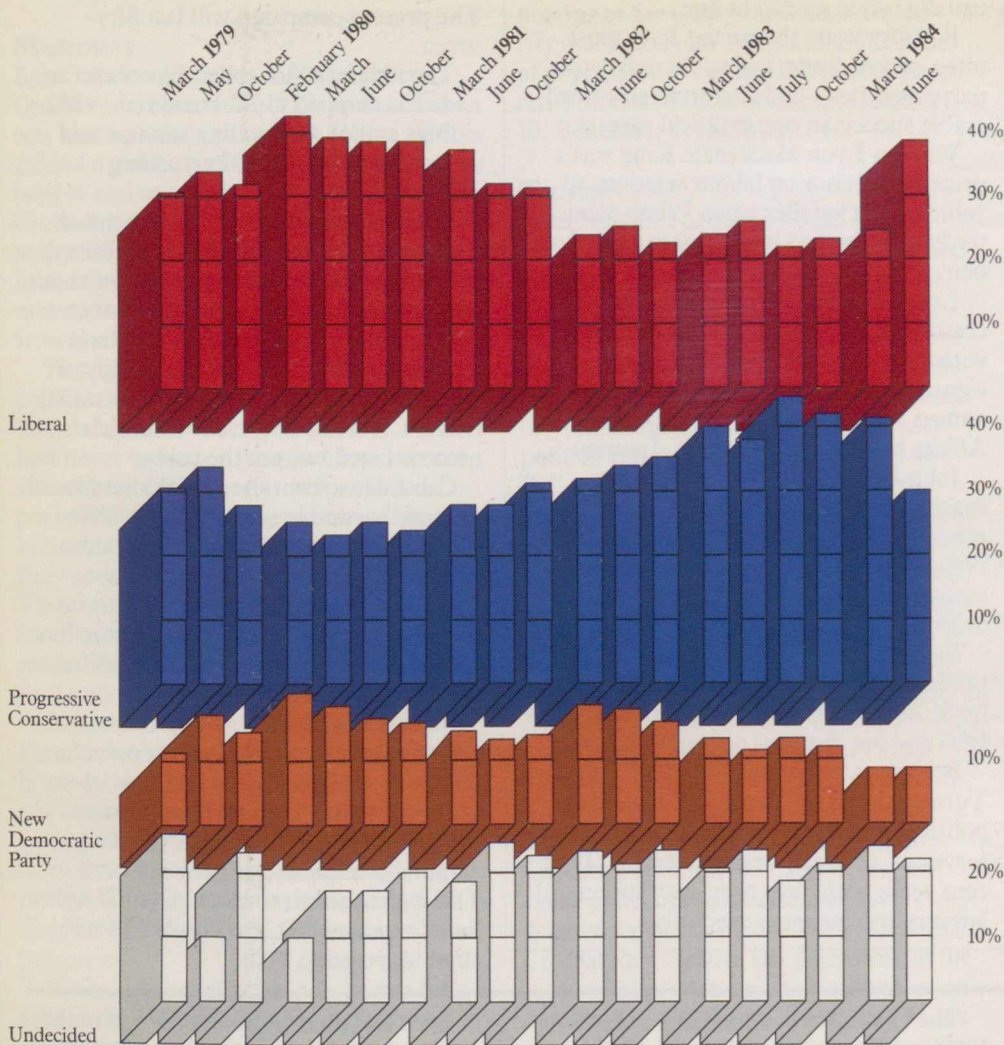
By early July, the Gallup Poll showed the Liberals supported by 35 per cent of the voters, the PCs by 27 per cent, the New Democratic Party by 8 per cent and 28 per cent undecided.

The fundamental uncertainty as to the date of the next election always gives Canadian politics a certain piquancy.

Logic for the Liberals this time seemed to call for an election as soon as possible – in late August or early September – but there were problems. Many Canadians would be on vacation in August, at lake cottages far from their home ridings or out of the country, and Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada as well as of the United Kingdom, was scheduled to pay a visit in July which would be in the midst of the campaign. (Turner as Prime Minister would necessarily spend a good deal of time with the Queen.) An election in late September would coincide with a visit by the Pope, an unprecedented event which might, on occasion, drive the election off the front pages. (Some 43 per cent of Canadians are Catholics.)

Turner went to England to see the Queen in early July and returned to Ottawa Sunday, July 8th, with the message that she would be willing to postpone her tour. Then, on Monday, July 9th, he called the election for September 4th, five days before the Pope's scheduled arrival.

Party Preference: Ebbs and Flows



Parties' fortunes go up and down. The Gallup Poll measures Canadian voters' preferences monthly.

In May 1979, an election month, the undecided voters were making up their minds, giving the Progressive Conservatives a slight edge. In February 1980, just before the next election, the

Progressive Conservatives' percentage was sharply down, the Liberals' up. This July, the Liberals, who had elected a new leader in June, bounced back after a long, discouraging winter.

Source: Canadian Gallup Poll Limited

The Not-Too-High Costs of Campaigning

The direct costs of Canadian campaigns and elections are limited by law.

This year the government, the parties and the individual candidates will spend an estimated \$5.60 for each eligible voter, up from \$3.22 in 1980. This does not include the amounts spent by special interest groups on behalf of favoured candidates. (The Commons passed a bill last fall which would have prohibited special interest groups from such expenditures, but an Alberta judge ruled in June that the bill violated the free speech provision of the Constitutional Charter of Rights.)

A basic formula links allowed expenditures by candidates and parties to the consumer price index and is adjusted for each election.

In 1980 each candidate was allowed to spend \$1 for each of the first 15,000 voters in his riding, 50 cents for each of the next 10,000, and 25 cents for each of the remaining voters. In addition the parties were allowed to spend 30 cents for each voter in each riding where they had a candidate.

A total of \$11.5 million was spent in 1980. No party exceeded the limits. The Liberals spent \$3,800,000, the Tories \$4,361,000, the NDP \$3,100,000 and the Social Credit Party \$98,510. The total for all other parties was \$103,182.

In addition to the party expenditures, the 1,497 candidates competing for the 282 seats in Commons spent a total of about \$15 million. Tax rebates for parties and candidates were \$11,780,000. Most expenditures were for advertising and travel. Candidates and parties will be permitted to spend about 30 per cent more on advertising this year because of recent changes in the election laws.

As you may have noticed, *Canada Today/d'aujourd'hui's* new art director, Eiko Emori, has given us a new format. We hope you like it.

Cover photos: UPI, Progressive Conservative Party, New Democratic Party.

Canada Today/d'aujourd'hui

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